

Message Text

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ACTION SP-02

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 SS-15 IO-13 CIAE-00 INR-07

NSAE-00 /050 W

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R 241130Z SEP 76

FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8170

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 6273

FOR S/P LORD, BARTHOLOMEW AND THORNTON

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, YO

SUBJECT: CONSULTATION AMONG PLANNERS

REF: STATE 234318

1. CALLED ON ZOTOVIC SEPT 22 AND HE OBVIOUSLY PLEASED AT YOUR AGREEMENT TO MEETING. AS TO OCTOBER 15 TIMING, HE HOPED YOU COULD BE FLEXIBLE UNTIL IT CLEARER WHEN UNGA WRAPPING UP AS SECRETARY MINIC WANTS HIM IN NEW YORK--NOW LOOKS LIKE OCTOBER 15 BUT COULD BE AS LATE AS OCTOBER 18. CAUTIONED THAT LORD'S SCHEDULE FULL AND TIED TO SECRETARY'S, ZOTOVIC PROMISED CONFIRM PRECISE TIME SHORTLY. HE DEPARTING FOR NEW YORK SEPT 25 AND WILL BE IN TOUCH WITH THORNTON VIA MATIC. AS TO COMPOSITION, ZOTOVIC PLANS HAVE ONE OR TWO MEMBERS OF HIS OWN GLOBAL STAFF WITH HIM AND PERHAPS SOMEONE FROM YUGOSLAV EMBASSY WASHINGTON--A MAXIMUM OF THREE OR FOUR. HE DOES NOT WANT LARGE MEETINGS.

2. BACKUP MATERIAL REQUESTED REFTEL PROVIDED HEREIN WITH PROVISIO THAT WE MAY WELL HAVE FURTHER SUGGESTIONS CLOSER TO THE EVENT DEPENDING ON IMPACT OF SUCH INTERVENING DEVELOPMENTS AS UNGA, TITO'S HEALTH, PROSPECTS OF EARLY BREZHNEV VISIT, HARRIMAN AND US-YUGOSLAV ROUNDTABLE TALKS HERE, STATE OF GOY CAMPAIGN AGAINST US, ETC.

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3. BIOGRAPHY. MIROSLAV ZOTOVIC'S TITLE IS DIRECTOR OF THE GROUP FOR ANALYSIS AND PLANNING, SUCCESSOR TO MITKO CALOVSKI WHO HOSTED LORD FOR TALKS AND LUNCH IN 1974. (CALOVSKI NOW DEPUTY GENERAL SECRETARY, OFFICE OF PRESIDENCY). THE GROUP AS LORD AND THORNTON WILL REMEMBER PERFORMS BASICALLY SAME BROAD FUNCTIONS AS S/P INCLUDING SPEECHES FOR PRESIDENT TITO. ZOTOVIC IS REPORTEDLY CLOSE TO FOREIGN SECRETARY MINIC. HE IS A CAREER DIPLOMAT, A SPECIALIST IN EASTERN EUROPE (TOURS IN WARSAW 1956-59, BUDAPEST 1959-61, AND FROM 1969-71 DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR EASTERN EUROPE AND SOVIET UNION WITH RANK OF MINISTER) BUT WITH A PREVIOUS STINT IN ANALYSIS AND PLANNING 1963-64 AND A TOUR AS AMBASSADOR TO COLOMBIA 1971 AND EQUADOR 1973-75. THUS HE THINKS EASILY IN GLOBAL TERMS. HE SPEAKS RUSSIAN, SPANISH BUT DOES NOT NOW USE ENGLISH OUR FILES INDICATE HE SPOKE IN 1971. SO TRANSLATOR REQUIRED. THORNTON'S OTHER CHIEF INTERLOCUTORS HERE WERE CURRENT DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR EASTERN EUROPE AND SOVIET UNION KUZMAN DIMCEVSKI, FOREIGN EDITOR "NIN" AND SOVIET SPECIALIST MIODRAG MAROVIC, INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL POLITICS AND ECONOMICS PROF. LJUBISA ADAMOVIC, FSFA COUNSELOR FOR CSCE MIHAILO LOMPAR AND TITO'S COUNSELOR FOR FOREIGN POLICY ANDJELKO BLAZEVIC).

4. SUBSTANTIVE TOPICS. RECOMMENDED TO ZOTOVIC WHAT WAS IMPLIED IN YOUR CABLE THAT MEETINGS WOULD BE MOST USEFUL IF LIMITED NUMBER OF ISSUES COVERED. GIVEN LORD'S USUALLY TIGHT SCHEDULE AND ZOTOVIC'S BROAD INTERESTS PERHAPS HE COULD SEE OTHERS IN S/P AND DEPT. SEPARATELY ON WHATEVER YOU HAVE INSUFFICIENT TIME TO COVER.

--SOUTHERN EUROPE. ZOTOVIC IS STUDYING AND WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS IN DEPTH WITH S/P SITUATION IN SOUTHERN EUROPE. YUGOSLAVS ARE SCHIZOPHRENIC IN THIS AREA. ON ONE HAND TITO MADE CLEAR ON RECENT TRIP TO ANKARA AND ATHENS HIS CONCERN OVER WEAKNESS OF NATO'S AND HIS SOUTHERN FLANK. ON OTHER HAND IN ITALY, FRANCE, SPAIN AND PORTUGAL YUGOSLAVS PUSHING FOR COMMUNIST PARTICIPATION TO WHICH THEY SEE USG AS MAIN OBSTACLE. OUR RESPONSE SHOULD BE TO OUTLINE SECRETARY'S VIEWS ABOUT SHARP SHIFT

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IN EUROPEAN BALANCE OF POWER WHICH WOULD RESULT FROM WESTERN COMMUNIST-LED WEAKENING FROM WITHIN OF NATO WHILE SOVIET UNION FURTHER STRENGTHENING ITS MILITARY CAPABILITY IN EUROPE.

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ACTION SP-02

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----- 095123

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8171

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BELGRADE 6273

MIGHT NOTE THAT KARDELJ HIMSELF IN ZAGREB SPEECH LAST OCTOBER SAID "A VIOLENT UPSETTING OF THIS (MAJOR POWER) BALANCE WOULD BRING MANKIND TO THRESHOLD OF NEW WORLD WAR".

--EAST-WEST RELATIONS. ZOTOVIC ALSO PROPOSED STATE OF DETENTE, SOVIET POLICIES IN EUROPE AND CSCE. INFLUENCING HIS VIEWS ON LATTER OF OBVIOUS INTEREST GIVEN YUGOSLAV HOSTING AND ACTIVE ROLE IN SHAPING BELGRADE '77 FOLLOWUP CONFERENCE. YUGOSLAVS CONTINUE BE DUBIOUS ABOUT OUR INTEREST IN CSCE AND THUS BELIEVE YOU SHOULD MAKE CLEAR STRENGTH OF OUR AND OTHER ALLIES' VIEWS ABOUT NECESSITY FOR PROGRESS IN BASKET THREE. YUGOSLAVS' GENERAL VIEW OF CURRENT EUROPEAN SITUATION IS THAT SOVIETS POST-ECPC TRYING TO TIGHTEN THEIR CONTROL OVER EASTERN EUROPE AND US ATTEMPTING DO SAME IN WEST. ZOTOVIC SAID SONNENFELDT DOCTRINE A MATTER OF PARTICULAR INTEREST "AT THIS VERY MOMENT" AT HIGHEST LEVELS OF GOV. CLEAR FROM AMBASSADOR'S TALKS WITH KARDELJ AND OTHER LEADERS HERE THAT YUGOSLAVS STILL HAVE SO-CALLED DOCTRINE BACKWARDS, INSISTING THAT IT ARGUES FOR THEM TO BE LESS OFFENSIVE TO SOVIET UNION RATHER THAN UNITED STATES. WHILE WE HOLD OUT LITTLE HOPE FOR CONVERSION BELIEVE A THIRTY MINUTE LECTURE BY THE AUTHOR OF THE DOCTRINE HIMSELF, WHICH ZOTOVIC REQUESTED, MIGHT TIRE THEM SUFFICIENTLY THAT THEY WILL BE LESS EAGER TO BRING UP SUBJECT IN FUTURE. IN PARTICULAR THEY SHOULD BE DISABUSED OF SELF-SERVING NOTION THAT HAL WAS ARGUING THEY SHOULD BE MORE SENSITIVE TO SOVIETS THAN TO US.

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--AFRICA. YUGOSLAVS WERE WAY OUT AHEAD OF OTHER NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES IN RECOGNIZING MPLA AS GOVERNMENT, ALLOWED SOVIET OVERFLIGHTS TO WHICH SECRETARY REACTED WITH VERY STRONG AIDE MEMOIRE, SUPPLY LIBERATION GROUPS WITH MATERIAL AND HAVE BEEN LESS THAN FLATTERING AND SUPPORTIVE OF SECRETARY'S CURRENT EFFORTS. THEY ARE NOT EASY WITH GROWTH OF SOVIET AND CUBAN INFLUENCE BUT AT SAME TIME WANT MARXIST FORCES TO TRIUMPH. RESULT IS SOME COLLABORATION WITH FORMER WHILE ENCOURAGING LATTER TO BECOME GENUINELY INDEPENDENT. YUGOSLAVS NON-ALIGNED LEADERSHIP AND ACTIVISM GIVE THEM CERTAIN INFLUENCE IN AFRICA, PARTICULARLY AMONG LIBERATION GROUPS WHICH THEY COULD USE TO MORE MODERATING EFFECT. BELIEVE LORD'S FRESH-FROM-AFRICA APPRAISAL OF SITUATION WILL BE OF GREAT INTEREST LINKED WITH SOME TOUGH TALK ON OUR PART ABOUT NECESSITY IN RHODESIA, NAMIBIA, ETC. FOR VARIOUS FACTIONS OF BLACK AFRICANS TO COME TOGETHER RATHER THAN FOR MARXISTS TO SEIZE POWER BY SOVIET, CUBAN AND YUGOSLAV-AIDED FORCE.

--MULTILATERAL-BILATER LINKAGE. YUGOSLAVS CONSTANTLY ASSERT THAT BILATERAL RELATIONS (E.G., WHAT WE DO FOR THEM) SHOULD BE TOTALLY INSULATED FROM MULTILATERAL RELATIONS (E.G., WHAT THEY DO TO US). THEIR CURRENT CONCERN THAT WE WILL NOT LET THEM GET AWAY WITH THIS IS CENTRAL TO EXPLANATION FOR THEIR CURRENT CAMPAIGN AGAINST US. THUS MINIC IN SECRET SPEECH TO MILITARY LEADERS IN FEBRUARY SAID SECRETARY'S STRING DEMARCHE OVER ANGOLA WAS THREAT TO WORSEN BILATERAL RELATIONS AND THAT THERE HAD BEEN OTHER PRESSURES: "THE AMERICAN PRESS WRITES ESPECIALLY HARSH THINGS ABOUT YUGOSLAVIA. THAT IS ALL SYNCHRONIZED. THE ORDERS ARE GIVEN FROM ONE PLACE AND THEN THE WHOLE MACHINERY FUNCTIONS: INTELLIGENCE, DIPLOMACY, INFORMATION, PROPAGANDA, ETC." THUS PRESIDENT TITO CLAIMED AMBASSADOR'S STATEMENT ON MISTREATMENT OF AMCIT LAZLO TOTTH ACTUALLY DESIGNED PRESSURE YUGOSLAVIA'S NON-ALIGNED POLICY ON EVE OF COLOMBO. THUS FSFA DIRECTOR FOR NORTH AMERICAN AFFAIRS SAID THAT PASSENGERS OF HIJACKED TWA PLANE WERE PROBABLY AMERICAN POLICEMEN AND PART OF RECENT CAMPAIGN TO BLACKEN NON-ALIGNED YUGOSLAVIA'S REPUTATION. THUS THEY SEE A HARDENING IN USG POLICY CAUSED BY NON-ALIGNED'S GREATER INVOLVEMENT IN "US SPHERE OF INTEREST" LATIN AMERICA. CONFIDENTIAL

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AND THUS ZOTOVIC HIMSELF SAID SEPT 22 AFTER ASKING WHETHER AMBASSADOR LEAVING SOON THAT "JEWISH LOBBY" IN UNITED STATES HAD ALWAYS BEEN AGAINST YUGOSLAVIA BECAUSE OF ISRAEL POLICIES IN MIDDLE EAST. BEYOND NOTING WORRISOME UNREALITY OF THEIR PERCEPTION OF US POLITICS AND DANGER TO THEM OF SPREADING TALE THAT JEWISH LOBBY IS BEHIND "REACTIONARY"

ACTIONS OF USG, BELIEVE YOU SHOULD STRESS THAT THEIR ACTIONS IN VOTING FOR ZIONISM IS RACISM, NORTH KOREAN AND OTHER RESOLUTIONS IN NON-ALIGNED MEETINGS AND AT UN INEVITABLY HAVE AN IMPACT ON ATTITUDE TOWARD YUGOSLAVIA OF US PUBLIC, BUSINESS, CONGRESS AND EXECUTIVE BRANCH. THIS IS MATTER OF FACT RATHER THAN CHOICE. CONSISTENT HOSTILITY TOWARD THE US INEVITABLY GENERATES A SIMILAR RESPONSE WITHIN THE US.

--MESCELLANY. TWO SPECIFIC PROPOSALS FOR WHICH YUGOSLAVS ARE CHIEF MOVERS AND SHAKERS MAY BE OF SPECIAL INTEREST

--A CONFERENCE OF MEDITERANEAN COUNTRIES ON SECURITY AND A UN SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT. AT COLOMBO THEY SECURED NON-ALIGNED BACKING AND ARE DETERMINED TO PUSH BOTH THROUGH TO FRUITION. THEY ARE ALSO PRIME MOVERS ON NWEQ.

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